

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 08363 231031Z

22

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

BIB-01 ACDA-07 /068 W

----- 085143

R 230838Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5160

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 8363

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINR, PINT, PFOR, PL

SUBJECT: DISSIDENT POLITICAL THEORY

REF: WARSAW 7460

1. SUMMARY. POLISH DISSIDENT JACEK KURON HAS ISSUED A MANIFESTO CALLING FOR UNITED OPPOSITION TO THE TOTALITARIAN AIMS OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES. THE DOCUMENT IS A CONDENSATION OF A LARGER WORK CONFISCATED FROM KURON BY SECURITY POLICE ON NOVEMBER 3. IT OUTLINES THE ILLS OF POLISH SOCIETY AND PROPOSES "FINLANDIZATION" OF THE COUNTRY AS A DESIRABLE GOAL OF POLISH POLICY, GIVEN THE THREAT FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE DOCUMENT HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE DEPARTMENT (ATTENTION EUR/EE- ALAN THOMPSON). END SUMMARY.

2. "THOUGHTS ON A PROGRAM FOR ACTION" IS A REJECTION OF THE MARXIST CONCEPT THAT THE WORKING CLASS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 08363 231031Z

REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE. ACCORDING TO

KURON, THE ATTEMPT OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO MAINTAIN THE FICTION OF UNITED OPINION IS ITSELF A PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF THE SYSTEM'S FAILURE. DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS HAVE DIFFERENT GOALS, BUT, BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED TO EXPRESS THEM, THERE CAN BE NO RATIONAL COMPROMISE. KURON SAYS THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE AS INFURIATED BY THE AUTHORITIES' DENIAL OF THE PRESENT CRISIS AS THEY ARE BY THE CRISIS ITSELF: THE CRISIS IS NOT ONLY FOOD AND COAL SHORTAGES, BUT ALSO THE COMMON KNOWLEDGE THAT THE MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPROVE MEAT PRODUCTION ARE FAILING AND THAT THE "TERROR" TACTICS USED DURING AND AFTER THE JUNE DISTURBANCES WERE RESCINDED ONLY BECAUSE OF WORLD CONDEMNATION.

3. OPPOSITION TO TOTALITARIANISM IN POLAND TAKES SEVERAL FORMS, ACCORDING TO KURON: 1) CLIQUES, FAVORITISM, AND PETTY CORRUPTION IN INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS (E.G., OBTAINING MEAT THROUGH CONTACTS RATHER THAN BY STANDING IN LINE); 2) ADMINISTRATIVE MANEUVERS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION (HOARDING RESERVES, OVERSTATING ACCOMPLISHMENTS); 3) OPEN, COLLECTIVE ACTION. THE FIRST TWO EXAMPLES, BECAUSE OF THEIR ILLEGAL CHARACTER, ARE SOCIALLY DESTRUCTIVE. THE THIRD, HOWEVER, PROMOTES SOLIDARITY RATHER THAN DIVISION AND, IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, IS THE PRINCIPAL FORM OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION.

4. KURON LISTS THE INSTANCES WHERE UNITED ACTION, CONSTITUTING "SOCIAL RESISTANCE", HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN POLAND: 1) PEASANT OPPOSITION TO COLLECTIVIZATION OF FARMS; 2) WORKERS' OPPOSITION IN 1956, 1957, 1970, AND 1976, A COSTLY AND INEFFICIENT, BUT STILL EFFECTIVE, FORM OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION; 3) ACTIVITIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GUARDING HUMAN SOVEREIGNTY; 4) THE WORK OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA, SUPPORTED BY POLES ABROAD, TO FORGE A NATIONAL CONSCIENCE AND A SENSE OF REALITY.

5. KURON BELIEVES THAT OPPOSITION BY VARIOUS GROUPS IN POLAND IS ALWAYS AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN SOME FORM OF SOVEREIGNTY. HE WRITES THAT THE BEST SYSTEM FOR SATISFYING CONFLICTING DEMANDS IS A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, AND LISTS BOTH HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLES, SUCH AS THE "LETTER OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 WARSAW 08363 231031Z

59," TO SUGGEST THAT THE POLISH MILIEU IS CONDUCIVE TO A PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM.

6. KURON ACKNOWLEDGES THE THREAT OF SOVIET INTERVENTION, BUT CONCLUDES IT IS MORE PROBABLE IN CASE OF NATIONAL PARALYSIS (LIKELY UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM) THAN IN THE FACE OF A WIDELY SUPPORTED REFORM MOVEMENT. KURON ARGUES THAT FULL SOVEREIGNTY IS IMPOSSIBLE, AND THE SUCCESS OF

LIMITED GOALS DEPENDS ON THE AMOUNT OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION. HE CALLS FOR "FINLANDIZATION: PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, LIMITED IN INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY TO THE DEGREE THAT THE CLEARLY FORMULATED INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE AFFECTED".

7. COMMENT: KURON'S "THOUGHTS" ARE A REPLY TO OFFICIAL CRITICISM THAT THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IS DESTRUCTIVE RATHER THAN CONSTRUCTIVE (REF). HE ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE A THEORETICAL AS WELL AS A TACTICAL BASIS FOR FURTHER ACTIVITIES. WHILE HIS TACTICAL PRESCRIPTION IS A REPETITION OF THE APPEAL FOR UNITED ACTION, IT IS FURTHER TESTIMONY THAT THE DISSIDENT LEADERS ARE AWARE OF THE NEED TO FORM A COALITION WHICH WILL RAISE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN POLAND FROM THE LEVEL OF SPORADIC POPULAR OUTBURSTS ACCOMPANIED BY BLOODSHED. END COMMENT.
DAVIES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DOCUMENTS, PARTY LINE, GOVERNMENT REFORM, DISSIDENT FACTIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 NOV 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976WARSAW08363
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760435-0976
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761120/aaaaarcs.tel
Line Count: 132
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 WARSAW 7460
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 APR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <04 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DISSIDENT POLITICAL THEORY
TAGS: PINR, PINT, PFOR, PL, (KURON, JACEK)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006